

## ***The Hot-Wars in Latin America; The Panama Years (1961-1984):***

By 1960, the USARCARIB School had graduated 8090 U.S. and 9077 Latin American students. Under the command of Col. Cecil Himes (Commandant, July 1958 to July 1961) and Maj. Gen. Charles L. Dasher (Commanding General, USARCARIB Command), the school updated its mission statement and added some new courses. The revised mission read: *“to provide training for Latin American officers and enlisted personnel, offering them a wide variety of military courses created to amplify their knowledge in the execution of their jobs in their respective armed services and to contribute to the development of friendships and mutual understanding between military establishments of the Latin American republics and the United States.”* The new courses introduced in the 1960-61 Course Catalog were the 10-week Military Information Course, the 12-week Munitions Storage Course, and the 10-week Combat Engineer Construction Course.<sup>12</sup>

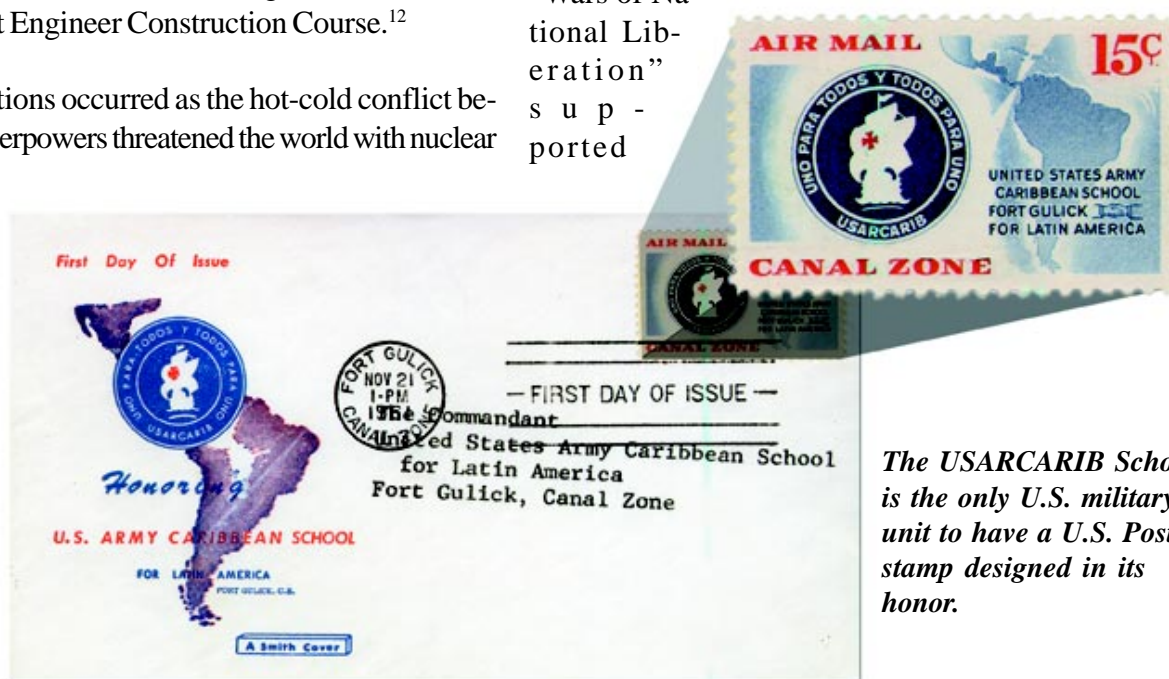
These actions occurred as the hot-cold conflict between the two superpowers threatened the world with nuclear Armageddon.

The U.S. and its allies had just endured the first bloody test of the Truman Doctrine's main tenet to contain those forces in competition with democracy and capitalism. The scares of the Korean Con-

flict were still quite raw as the Cold War began to take on its modern dynamics. The Soviet Union was recovering from the devastating affects of WWII and beginning to project its global power. Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and other countries were soon crushed under the iron curtain of Communism. “Wars of National Liberation” were erupting in Africa and Asia as the former colonial powers of Europe saw their grip on overseas possessions challenged by revolution, Soviet imperialism, and the march of history. In 1959, the Soviet hand was observed being played overtly for the first time in the Western Hemisphere following Fidel

Castro's overthrow of the corrupt Batista regime in Cuba. The Soviet courtship of Castro came to light in 1961, and the Cold War almost boiled into a hot conflict by the close of 1962 with President Kennedy staring down Chairman Khrushchev's attempt to place nuclear weapons in the middle of the Americas' mutual-defense ring. Castro, however, was committed to destroying this defense network by exporting his own brand of “Wars of National Liberation” throughout the hemisphere. Within weeks of the fall of Havana, Cuban guerrillas were detained in the Dominican Republic and in the western provinces of Panama, frustrating initial attempts to export the Cuban Revolution to the rest of the hemisphere. The Kennedy Administration further reacted to such attempts by mobilizing the USARCARIB School to take a front-rank role in meeting the challenge.

Col. Edgar W. Schroeder arrived at the USARCARIB School in July 1961, just as the U.S. military was developing doctrines and strategies to thwart the Marxist “Wars of National Lib-  
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*The USARCARIB School is the only U.S. military unit to have a U.S. Postal stamp designed in its honor.*

by the USSR via the Castro regime. Immediately affected were Guatemala, Honduras, Bolivia, and other Latin American countries. The stated mission of the USARCARIB School in 1961 was to “teach the principles and tactics employed by the U.S. as a result of our experiences in WWII, Korea, and the actual Cold War...and to better our capability to operate in combat as a unified hemispheric force if necessary.”<sup>13</sup> The curriculum listed in the 1960-61 Course Catalog remained unchanged.

PACIFIC SIDE TIDE			
High	7:05 a.m.	14.7 ft.	Low
	7:25 p.m.	14.9 ft.	
PHASES OF THE MOON			
Full Moon	April 1	New Moon	April 15
Last Quarter	April 8	First Quarter	April 22
	Full Moon	April 30	

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FOR THE CAUSE THAT LACKS  
FOR THE WRONG THAT NEEDS

YEAR CXI

PANAMA, R

# U.S. To Set Up Guerr

*National development is a key component of the counterinsurgency doctrine developed by the Kennedy administration.(Right)*

*Community involvement is a key element of a successful counterinsurgency plan.(Below)*







# Herald

## WEATHER FORECAST

PANAMA CITY AND VICINITY: Partly cloudy to cloudy; widely scattered rain showers in afternoon.  
Maximum temperature: 90  
Minimum temperature: 72  
COLON AND VICINITY: Mostly cloudy; scattered rain showers.  
Maximum temperature: 87  
Minimum temperature: 74

ESTABLISHED IN 1849

FOR THE FUTURE IN THE DISTANCE  
AND THE GOOD THAT CAN DO.

P., THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1961

5 Cents

# Guerrilla War School In C.Z.

## Plan Special Courses For Americas Military

WASHINGTON, April 5 (AP)—The U.S. Army said today a special guerrilla and anti-guerrilla warfare school will be set up in the Panama Canal Zone this summer to instruct military personnel of Latin American nations which ask such training.

The school will be established at Ft. Gulick, near a long established jungle warfare training center operated by the army at Ft. Sherman.

None of the training at the new school will be designed specifically for any one country, the Army said.

There was no immediate explanation of this. It may have been directed at quieting any belief that anti-Castro refugees from Cuba would receive U.S. training at the jungle-guerrilla warfare schools.

Classes at the new school will involve guerrilla and anti-guerrilla warfare, intelligence and counter-intelligence, psychological operations, civil affairs and related fields.

The first classes will be limited to officers from countries wishing this training, but the Army said they may be expanded later to handle enlisted personnel too.

All classes will be conducted in Spanish. Some bilingual U.S. military personnel will attend the school.



*The Kennedy Administration mobilized the U.S. Armed Forces to counter armed insurgencies that threatened Alliance for Progress initiatives in the Americas. The U.S. Caribbean School was tasked to emphasize counterinsurgency in its curriculum offerings.*

The U.S. Army, acting on Kennedy's order, is more than doubling its own special guerrilla forces.

Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara told a Senate committee that 3,000 more will be added under

However, under orders from the White House, dramatic changes were being shaped by Maj. Gen. Theodore F. Bogart, the Commander of USARCARIB Command, and Col. Schroeder.<sup>14</sup> A 1962 supplemental course catalog was issued after a visit to the USARCARIB School by Robert Kennedy, the U.S. Attorney General. His visit was designed to personally ensure the school was an integral part of the Army's emerging counterinsurgency strategy to support President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, a broad program of foreign assistance that targeted the political and social concerns that usually pre-date revolutionary upheavals. No such economic or social progress could take place in an environment of revolutionary warfare and terrorism. Hence, a comprehensive strategy of both defense and development would be necessary to achieve the Alliance's goals. The supplemental course catalog expanded the school's mission to "support U.S. Army missions, attachés, military-assistance advisory groups, and commissions operating in Latin America by instructing military and para-military personnel in the U.S. military technical skills, leadership techniques, and doctrine covering military action and counterinsurgency operations during peace and war."

The USARCARIB School was reorganized to better accomplish the new mission. The school was divided into three training departments each with its own specialties. The Tactics Department focused on traditional military operations and tactics within the Engineer, Command and Staff, and Infantry Sections. The Automotive, Communications, Supply, and Armament Sections made up the Technical Department. However, the major shift in policy, mission, and reorganization can be seen in the creation of the new Internal Security Department with its Counterinsurgency Section, Military Intelligence Section, Military Police Sec-

tion, Medical Section, and Research and Analysis Section, which studied training requirements for the militaries of the region. The department also developed two new courses to be offered to Latin American military and police personnel. The military doctrine used to develop the courses was copied and imported from the training being conducted for U.S. personnel at the John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School located at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.<sup>15</sup> That doctrine was thoroughly grounded in international standards for conducting military operations under the Geneva and

Hague Conventions; additionally, its national economic- and political-development components were specifically targeted at enhancing the legitimacy of governments threatened by insurgencies. The first course developed was a 2-week Counterinsurgency Operations Orientation



*The USARCARIB School, and later as USARSA, sponsored a rural health clinic on the outskirts of Colón, Panama.*

Course for field-grade or general officers, as well as key civilian governmental officials. This course was offered four times a year beginning in July 1961. An expanded 10-week version for lieutenants, captains, and civilian officials was later offered four times a year.<sup>16</sup> Both courses stressed the underlying causes of insurgency and the role of the military in supporting civic-action programs to relieve those pressures. One of the stated purposes of the 10-week course was to provide instruction so the student would "have a thorough understanding of the assistance that the Armed Forces can provide in the betterment of the living conditions of the people."<sup>17</sup>

The counterinsurgency strategy developed by the White House called for closer coordination between the entire spectrum of political, military, and civilian security forces charged with achieving national goals and objectives. This was an integral part of the USARCARIB School curriculum. Col. Schroeder outlined this attitude and change in



doctrine when describing how the USARCARIB School had changed to meet the new hemispheric-security demands. He stated in the course catalog that the USARCARIB School had now “developed a closer relationship with the Inter-American Police Academy in order to form a more potent counterinsurgency team...All courses have undergone major modifications during the past eighteen months in support of the counterinsurgency effort. Not only those courses whose title includes the term counterinsurgency, but every course taught has definite application in the counterinsurgency field...Without exception, the instructor and student are made fully aware of the importance of the total effort which must go into the establishment of internal security and the nation-building effort necessary for stamping out communist-led and communist-fed insurgencies...Currently, the Department provides instruction in every aspect of counterinsurgency operations, be it military, paramilitary, political, sociological, or psychological. Stimulation of economic growth by military-civic actions is emphasized...Lastly, we fully realize the great importance of our work, which is actually a part of the Alliance for Progress in Latin America.”<sup>18</sup>

Changes in national-security paradigms and a heightened awareness of U.S. military requirements in Latin America demanded a change in structure and organization. The USARCARIB Command was renamed and re-flagged the United States Army Forces Southern Command. This compelled the USARCARIB School to also change its name to better reflect its new missions and roles for the Western Hemisphere. The school had become a recognized center for integrating military thought from throughout the hemisphere, and had become synonymous with a collective approach to security and defense. A more appropriate title, emphasizing the role of all nations of the hemisphere, was sought. Therefore, the U.S. Army School of the Americas (USARSA) was activated on July 1, 1963 with Col. Henry J. Muller, Jr. at the helm. Maj. Gen. Bogart continued as the Commanding General of Southern Command.<sup>19</sup>

Col. Muller moved forward with more reforms of USARSA to strengthen its impact on the militaries of the region. USARSA reorganized into two training departments to better control integration of the themes of the national-security

strategy into the training. The Internal Security Department was reorganized to include the Counterinsurgency, Command and Staff, Infantry, Military Intelligence, Jungle Operations, and Military Police Sections. The Technical Department continued with the Engineer, Communications, Medical, Supply, and Maintenance Sections. New courses were added to the curriculum to improve the mobility of the Latin American militaries. USARSA added courses in parachute rigging, basic airborne and air movement, and the Jumpmaster/Pathfinder Course.<sup>20</sup> The Military Intelligence Course was revamped and a Jungle Operations Course was added after having been previously conducted by the Joint Warfare Training Center located at Fort Sherman, Canal Zone.<sup>21</sup> By June 1963, USARSA had in its archives records of 13,136 Latin American and 8,336 U.S. graduates.

During the 1960's and 70's, the Soviet-sponsored guerrilla wars in Latin America severely undermined the establishment of stable and effective democratic governments in the hemisphere and weakened the regional relationships that the Inter-American mutual-defense system was designed to promote. In the wake of the Vietnam War and other national concerns, the U.S., under President Nixon, embarked on a policy of “Benign Neglect” toward Latin America.<sup>22</sup> Paralleling events in other Third World regions, the pressures of economic stagnation, rising expectations, Marxist insurgencies, and diminished influence of the U.S. in the Inter-American network stimulated a rise in the number of military dictatorships in Latin America. Opting for French-



*The library was established in 1958 to provide reading material for the school's students, staff, and family members.*

based security strategies rather than those of the U.S., many Latin American militaries displaced civilian regimes through coups d'état, citing civilian incompetence and corruption or states of military emergency as their rationale. By the middle seventies, only four nations south of the Rio Grande had civilian-led, democratic forms of government.

The seventies also saw other external factors that impacted USARSA and U.S. foreign policy in Latin America. The prioritization of defeating communist penetration of the hemisphere over other foreign-policy goals induced the U.S. to maintain supportive relationships with authoritarian regimes which, absent such considerations of *realpolitik*, would have been treated otherwise. Gen. Underwood reflected this policy attitude in a statement he made in 1972 while serving as the Commander of U.S. Southern Command: "What is not understood is that our assistance is not designed to maintain a particular authoritarian military government, but is directed at giving that country and its people the capability for internal security and nation-building that are imperative prerequisites to social and economic improvement... We cannot wait until a so-called "good" government comes along to create such an instrument for national good. It must be there, ready for use when that 'good' government takes over".<sup>23</sup>

However, this changed in 1976, when President Carter began to cut off military aid and otherwise sanction countries that did not comply with established human-rights standards.

USARSA experienced a drop in enrollment as countries, one by one, were denied military aid to attend training at U.S. military schools. In 1979, only nine of the usual eighteen Latin American countries were allowed to attend USARSA.<sup>24</sup> The school was forced, in 1977, to delete the

Military Intelligence Course from its curriculum because of political criticism—this in light of the modernization efforts of USARSA under Col. Charles J. Bauer during 1975-76. The mission of USARSA remained to train Latin American military personnel in a professional environment as well as expose the students to U.S. Army values and ethics. However, a modernization plan was implemented and modeled

on the initiatives emanating from the newly created U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC). The changes were intended to enhance the quality of training conducted by USARSA. The school adopted TRADOC's systems approach to course design to ensure the correct tasks, conditions, and standards were identified, grouped, taught, and measured effectively. The school also up-

dated its training literature by translating the recently released series of training circulars and field manuals published by TRADOC. The final modernization goal focused on instructional technology. The school activated an Instructional Technology Department consisting of branches specializing in faculty development, educational television, training aids, individual self-paced learning, and language training.<sup>25</sup>

Regardless of the positive results of the modernization plan, other external activities continued to contribute to a declining enrollment. Chile severed military relations with the U.S. following the imposition of sanctions on the Pinochet Government in

1976, the Sandinista-Marxist revolutionary movement took control of Nicaragua, and the "Farabundo Martí" National Liberation Movement (FMLN) started violent guerrilla-combat operations in El Salvador in 1979. The Inter-American system of mutual security and defense was crumbling at the edges, and with widespread internal conflict in Central America, policymakers in Washington saw a direct threat to U.S. security interests, with potential consequences worldwide.



*U.S. Army training standards were applied to all combat training.*